[Western Protectorate]

565 Most of them are nomads moving over their areas
221 in search of water and fodder for their animals. They are of con-
182 siderable economic importance in the life of the country, as the
carrying trade is in their hands. They have a reputation for main-
463 taining their agreements wth their neighbours and never violating a
577 pledged agreement. If an individual makes any undertaking on behalf of his section or family, his people fulfil it: "He who seeks refuge with them, though he may be a murderer, is sheltered and not surrendered even if they fight in his cause."

628 If a man is killed in war, his kinsmen take retaliation for him.
682 A man who has slain many is regarded as a debtor and his debts are payable, life for life, by the lives of any of his tribe. If a man kills another in peace time, the debt can only be paid by his own death or by that of one of his kinsfolk. If it is not thus liquidated, a feud starts between the murderer and his kinsfolk and the kinsfolk of the murdered man. The violation of an undertaking is a charge on the whole tribe, and if they do not associate themselves with the violation they must force the violator to prove his innocence
[685] or rise against him. Loots are settled by the payment of goods or cash to the value of the loot taken, but claims for blood are never paid. "You may at this day find a grandson, whose father had died before the claim was settled by retaliation, making a claim for the blood of his grandfather killed forty years before."

411 It is worth remarking that there appear to be fewer firearms
531 in the eastern part of the Protectorate than there are in the western. There also seem to be many less modern weapons. It is possible that many of the firearms are more effective than they appear to be, as the Hadhrami decorates his weapon more than his western neighbour does, and fixes on to the butt a rounded piece of wood, sometimes covered with skin. These features make the rifle more reminiscent of the old matchlocks.

Townsmen.

565 The townsmen of the Hadhramaut are derived principally from
162 80 families who migrated from 'Iraq with Seiyid Ahmed bin 'Isa,
[173] and the following are the principal families.

In Tarim: Āl bin Diyāb, head of the family, Ahmed 'Ali bin Diyāb; number of the members of the family said to be important, 30, total, 50. Āl Dahruj, head, 'Ubeidillah; important members, 40, total, 100. Āl 'Ubeid Yamāni, head, Sa'id Heimid; important members, 200, total, 1,000. Āl Bā Hamāla, head, 'Ali Sa'id; important members, 50, total, 60. Āl Bā Sunbōl; important members, 60, total, 120. Āl Bā Sabih, head, Mubarek 'Ubeid Bā Salih; important members, 50, total, 100.

In Seiyun: Āl Bā Shagheiwan, head, Hadi Salih; important members, 20, total, 60, Sa'id 'Abdulla; one important member, total, 14. Bā Fadhl; important members, 5, total, 30. Bā Baja; important members, 15, total, 120. Āl Hasan; important members, 40, total, 90.

[The Hadhramaut tribesmen — Analyst]

more popular and provides the something of excitement which has given a zest to raiding. It should not be forgotten that some of our own games were war games.

The Beduin proletariat and the capitalist townsmen are mutually necessary to each other. The Beduins do all the carrying trade and supply the firewood and their other scanty products to the towns, and the merchants sell to the Beduins what they require of food, clothing, and other necessaries of life. The brokers of the Beduins to be found in all the towns supply the link between the two. They live on helping the Beduins to sell their produce to, and buy their requirements from, the merchants, and on helping the merchants to obtain the transport they need.

Housing.

Each town in the Hadhramaut has its own individual characteristics as regards housing. Although the houses of coastal towns are all of the familiar Arab type built of stone rubble and whitewashed, there is a wide difference in the aspect of the towns themselves. Mukalla, for example, is a miniature edition of Zanzibar—tall houses and narrow streets, sometimes not six feet across, while Shihr is a town of lower houses, wide streets, and open spaces. Away from the coast, mud is the almost universal building medium, and sun-dried mud bricks are used alike in building the palaces of the rich and the simple *dars* of the poor.

In the Wadi Du'an the tall mud-built houses climb up the banks of the wadi. They are close packed, but it is in their interiors that they merit attention. The colour scheme is black and white and rusty red. Although there is practically no whitewash on the outside of Du'an houses, the interiors of the better-class dwellings are spotlessly white. The ceilings of the rooms, which are lofty, are supported by carved pillars of '*elb*' wood, and all interior woodwork is of this material. The doors are set in wide heavily-carved frames and the whole ornamented extensively with iron nails, two inches across the heads, burnished with lead till they shine like polished dollars. It is a modern development in Du'an houses that every room in the house should be provided with its own ablution room, and as a consequence they are really self-contained flats. The entrance door gives on to a passage into the flat, and there is usually not a door into the main living-room but a Moorish arch either in the whitewashed wall or of stained '*elb* wood again studded with burnished nails. The ceiling is held up on rafters of '*elb* wood supported by the pillars previously referred to, the mud floor of the next storey above being laid over slats of date wood very attractively arranged in herring bone pattern.

In Tarim the principal feature is the large number of enormous dwelling-houses in a style copied from Malaya but built of mud

[1] Other Arabic names are *sidr* and *nebk*. *Zizyphus Spina-Christi*. L.

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

bricks. The cost of building the house in which we stayed in Tarim was $60,000. The exterior of these houses is decorated with blue, green, yellow, and pink, which is not at all unattractive. Interiors are fitted with every up-to-date contrivance, electric light and fans, telephones, ice-plants, and European modern conveniences in the bathrooms, wash-basins with running water and shower-baths. Whereas in Du'an and Shibam there is scarcely a chair to be found, these houses are replete with European furniture, albeit some of a rather florid style. Large and comfortable chairs and sofas decorate the drawing-rooms, and there are English carpets, masses of gilt mirrors, chandeliers and glass cupboards full of marmalade dishes, egg-cups and so on. Living in such houses as these one is struck at every moment with the reflection that there is hardly a thing in the house that has not had to be transported on camel-back over the mountains for six days.

The principal structural detail that the wealthy Seiyids of Tarim and Seiyun have to contend with in their building operations is the difficulty of procuring long enough timber. The *'elb* or *sidr* tree grows to no great height, and although we found *'ariata* trees (*Conocarpus erectus*, Jacq.) growing to 50 feet or more in height some days' journey down the Wadi Maseila, they cannot be transported by camels. The difficulty is being surmounted to some extent by experiments in the making of reinforced concrete pillars of which I saw two in construction at Seiyun. All the work is done by local labour, the travelled Seiyids training their masons. The interior walls of these houses, apart from elaborate decorations such as gold crowns and coloured flowers, are covered with a lime plaster polished with smooth pieces of flint till it resembles marble.

Shibam is remarkable for the height of its houses. The town, which is in the shape of a capital D, contains in a small area 500 houses built on a slight eminence in the Wadi. From a short distance the whole town appears to be one enormous brown mud built construction with a whitewashed top storey and roof. There is no further building room in the town and the only way to have a new house is to buy an old one, knock it down, and rebuild. By general consent, houses in Shibam are not now to be built more than six storeys high in order to avoid overlooking. The only important existing exception to this rule is the Government palace, which is a storey or two higher, but which is in such a position that it overlooks very little. On the top of the six storeys the builder may however erect a roofless seventh which gives him a walled-in roof terrace. The building of this type of house which, when completed, will be 64 *dhirras* or 96 feet high, will cost more than 20,000 dollars. Bigger houses are constructed of two or more houses built together. The life of a house is said to be 200 to 250 years, but the age it reaches depends on the privies being kept dry and cleaned out regularly. If this is not done, the damp saps the lower part of the clay walls and causes splits, necessitating demolition.

7: Stuzler-Raemaekers T-3 (1950-51) 1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

It is the same type of building that has been carried to perfection in the towns. This brings us to the chief group of interest—the townsfolk.

The ancient cities usually lay on some small eminence in the centre of the main valley or up a side valley. They had defence walls round them and were probably manned by very well-organized garrisons. When the "middle ages" or "dark ages" of Arabia came upon this area with the decline of the land trade routes in the second century, these cities seem to have been abandoned as the empires broke up. The people who remained after this decline seem to have taken to living in eagles' nests and cliff-side towns built on the steep slopes of the valleys. They may be the forefathers of the town dwellers found today in the main valley of Hadhramaut and its tributaries of Wadi Do'an, Wadi bin Ali, and Wadi 'Idm.

People of the side valleys remained much closer to bedouin tradition than in the main valley, as in lovely Do'an, for instance—the narrow, riverless valley, its bed entirely covered with thick palm groves which are irrigated with water collected in pools and tanks from the yearly rains. They live simply, drinking the old bedouin drink of husk coffee with ginger and eating the plain millet cakes with a few dried herbs and vegetables (instead of tea and imported rice as is now done in the large towns). There are no natural resources here. Food, except dates and honey, is scarce. To earn a living the Do'anis go and trade abroad, mainly in East Africa. The women of the valley retain their picturesque costumes with heavy jewellery reminiscent of the bedouin silver. Their dresses are mostly of homespun black cotton (as also the men's coloured loin cloths), but for "best" they wear silver embroidered black velvet with gold and silver braid bodices.

Their cliff towns are a fair size and an amazing heaping-up of one building above the other. They are solid and well built of several storeys, on a long narrow plan parallel to the hillside in order not to dig too far into the mountain. Massive walls have small windows and corbelled cornices not found elsewhere in this area; they have a Gothic decorativeness that is pure instinct and a lovely rough, crumbling mud surface that fades into the mountainside because they are made of the same material as the mountain itself. Usually the houses are laid out in small apartments, a room with a lobby and a washroom to each; sometimes one, sometimes two to each floor. Both buildings and streets are narrow for lack of space.

But when we come to the great Wadi Hadhramaut the streets are wide and the buildings are much larger and more sophisticated. This Wadi has its underground river and innumerable wells. Luxury abounds. The people from the great valley towns—Shibam, Saiywun, Terim—made their fortunes in Singapore and Java, and here one comes to the most impressive buildings of Hadhramaut.

The great desert town of Shibam with its 500 houses is a town of merchants only. Contrary to all other towns its site is on an eminence in the centre of the valley, and I wonder whether it may not be an old Sabean site. The buildings on the outer rim of the town form a solid wall, five to six storeys high, and these are the houses of the great, where they get a maximum of air, light and view. Six storeys is the agreed maximum, so that no one shall overlook his neighbour. Only the ruler's castle, on

1: Sauter-Raemaekers T-2 (1930-47) 1952 MNT Hadhramaut MM

a mound, is seven storeys and rises above the rest, the whole, like all others, built in mud bricks.

In the centre, the space that is left, lie huddled the one-storeyed shops of the suq and the many-storeyed flat houses of the poor. Shibam seemed the only town where houses were occupied in flats. Elsewhere I saw almost exclusively one-family houses even if the family had many groups within it.

All houses in Hadhramaut have a strong inward slant from bottom to top, which gives them a look of strength mingled with grace. There are no basements and barely foundations, but the ground floor is an almost solid base, so thick are the walls that taper towards the top. They may be almost 3 feet thick at the base for a tall castle, and a foot at the top.

In Shibam, the houses forming a solid rampart wall have windows at the two ends only, and a small light-well to light the stairs in the centre of the deep building. The ground floor usually contains granaries and stores. The straight flights of the stairs rise between thick walls with a very heavy central block. On the first floor the Shibam citizen keeps his goats and rabbits in the outside rooms, while the centre is occupied by more stores. About the second floor begin the living quarters—that is, the office and rooms of the men, stores in the centre again, and often with kitchen, washroom, and lavatory. These washrooms and lavatories are systematically built over a central shaft, though water is mostly allowed to run from a gutter into the centre of the street. But there are "back" streets for the sanitation and "front" streets for doors. About the third floor the private quarters begin. They would be men's living quarters, with the ladies on the floor above, the fourth, with kitchen and washrooms again, right on top, often little private quarters for the owner of the house where he may enjoy most fresh air. Each floor has a double set of windows, a large one down to the floor and a small square one for ventilation above, up against the ceiling, so that there are continual draughts running through the top of the room. Practically all rooms have windows on two sides, and with this and the thick walls and the smooth plaster they remain pleasantly cool.

The lower floors are usually the loftiest; even the ground floor store rooms are up to 12 and 13 feet high. The house often has two entrances—a large door for the men and a little one for the ladies, with separate stairs in the larger houses, even in Shibam where land is scarce. The façades are in rough mud brick, a uniform brown colour with a white plaster smooth base and white ornaments round windows and parapet, getting richer towards the top of the house, which is the best part of it.

Their plasterwork is one of their great arts. It is extraordinarily hard. To obtain this it is presumed to be mixed with date juice. When polished with a piece of flint and rubbed with a cloth for hours it acquires a lustre that makes it shine like marble. This is chiefly done inside the main rooms and in the washrooms and stairs. Outside it is only polished at the base, for water to run off. The ornamentation of the upper storeys is left rough white. But as people's wealth increased they have abandoned this form of very characteristic decoration, which divided the tall buildings in broad brown bands alternating with narrow white bands at window level.

7: Stutler-Rasmussen T-3 (1950-51) 1953 MM3 Hadhramaut MM2

Now they cover the building in white plaster all over, and the charming ornamentation in darts and trefoils is lost.

The oldest building in Shibam, the castle, which may be anything from 80 to 150 years old, still shows this decoration in horizontal bands of white round the windows. It seems an old bedouin tradition, for I have found it in remote bedouin villages. So all these old, charming and vigorous forms—dart motifs, broad bands, crenellated terraces, carved and nail-studded doors and graceful mucharabias for the ladies to look down into the street from the high terraces—are being abandoned. The present-day Hadhrami thinks them old-fashioned and copies the Indian and pseudo-Classic styles he has seen in Java and Singapore. Niches are filled in; and instead of the flat, low relief white ornaments (all shapes receding because the mud crumbles and the yearly rainfalls wash them away) we now find entablatures, pediments, balusters and pilasters, designed for much more lasting materials, like stone, and which here soon become shabby.

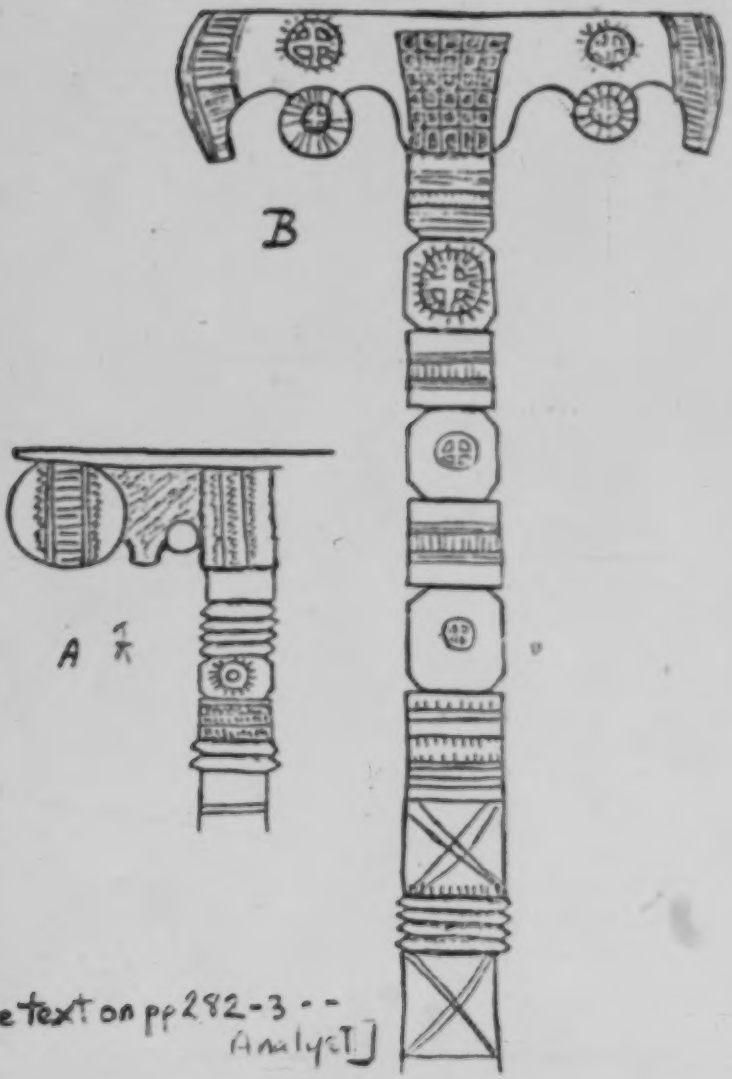
Shibam, the old-fashioned, has only just begun to suffer from this. Going, also, is one of the amenities of the Arab house: the coffee corner. In almost every room and terrace there was a little dais in a cool and shaded corner by a window where the master or mistress sat to make coffee for the guests. In the walls behind the dais there were niches specially shaped to take the pestle and mortar, the charcoal tin, the cups, and a small cupboard to lock away the precious ingredients—coffee, ginger and sugar. On the window-sill there was often a tall jar for the water and a runnel for waste water to flow away. Instead of these we now find the tea ceremony round the samovar in the middle of the floor, the little dais being broken away.

But we now move to the most fashionable of the Hadhramaut towns—to Saiywun and Terim and the many surrounding small towns. Here one finds a different type of people. There are many merchants too, but here we find another leading class, also great landowners in Java and Singapore. These are Sayyids, members of the eighty holy families, descendants of Mohammed, who live in these towns beside the lower classes. They have been the spiritual and temporal lords of the country for centuries. They have authority in matters of justice and civil affairs, and they are believed to have healing gifts. Until recently they were the undisputed rulers of the country. Now their power wanes before more democratic forms.

These people live in shining white palaces in the manner of *grands seigneurs*. They wear long white silk coats or the Indian silk longie and pastel-shaded shirts. The ladies, up till recently, wore heavy satin embroidered and sequin-covered kimono-like gowns, bunched into a low silver belt round the hips. Now these are forbidden as they cannot be washed. They wear their hair in hundreds of fine plaits. Up to the age of eight little girls may show face and hair, then they cover hair and neck with a close-fitting shawl and at twelve they go into purdah completely.

Their houses are built in a solid square block without inner courtyard and with windows on all four sides. Even the old streets are fairly wide in these towns that lie in the foothills. The more modern houses are surrounded by a walled garden. They are completely divided into two, one

322
342
531



[See text on pp 282-3 -- Analyst]

Lt. Serjeant U-4 (no date) 1949 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

this reduction should be made, issued a decree (taḳrīr) defining the wages of the various categories of people engaged in building. The workmen still refused to accept the revised wages, and some left Tarīm and went to the independent Ḥawṭah of Thibī, outside it and beyond Kathīrī jurisdiction. Some however stayed in Tarīm, but worked at collecting firewood, and refused to undertake building. A *modus vivendi* was established through the good offices of Saiyid Bū Bakr al-Kāf, but whereas, before, the wage of the builders had been two three Āl Kā ḍarībahs per day, which the wealthy had attempted to reduce to one ḍarībah only, after the dispute all the workmen received three ḍarībahs [10].

To revert to the sacrifice in the sās, I noticed in the fine archaeological site of the town known as Am-'Ādīyah [11] that on some buildings an inscription was located at the *corner* of the sās which was constructed of the typical lozenge-backed Himyarite hewn stone, and that it stood about three feet from the ground. Possibly therefore it was sometimes a custom to place inscriptions in the sās about the place of the sacrifice; they could not be placed higher as the wall above this point is of adobe. These particular Am-'Ādīyah inscriptions are very weather-beaten, and to the best of my knowledge no attempt has been made to copy them.

An interesting feature of Ḥaḍramī building is the shape of the columns, generally carved from 'ilb wood, which strikes one immediately as descended from an ancient tradition. In the Ḥawṭah of Thibī near Tarīm, I first saw the curious capital sketched (fig. C.) from below, with its little round pendants underneath the rectangular blocks. Later I realised that this was a very stylized type of capital, derived from a prototype somewhat resembling the examples in figs. A & B., sketched in my field-book at 'Azzān and

[10] Reproductions of the ḍarībah in J. A. S. BUCKNILL, *A note on some coins struck for use in Tarim, Southern Arabia, Journ. of the Malay of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Singapore, 1925), III, 1. It is the coin which has the number 16 written on it. There were about five to six ḍarībahs to the riyāl (kirī franzāwī).

[11] For notes on this town see S. PEROWNE, *'Im'adiya and Beihan, Aden, Antiquity* (London), xiii (1939), p. 50. The author confuses the name امعادية with عمادية, but it is really the South Arabian article Am = Al, followed by the word 'Ādiyah. It is therefore « the 'Ādite city » which means little more really than « the ancient city ». I visited it in 1941.

19: Serjeant U-4 (no date) 1949 MMS Hadhramaut MM2

Ṣa'id respectively, both in the Wāḥidī, Ḥimyar territory. The Ṣa'id house had in its clay construction that pattern of recessed surfaces one so often sees in fragments of pre-Islamic architectural ornament. Both of these columns are obviously representations of the palmtree, the capital representing the leaves on the outside, and the bunch of dates in its fibre bag (ḫubrah) on the inside. In all cases the capital which is carved out of a single block of wood, is called kabš or ram, a term which brings to mind the bull-headed columns of Persepolis. The room in which I saw fig. B. was the main reception room of the house called rakaiz (which Landberg gives as the general name for the second storey of a house), and the column was called rakīzah.

The following terms, most not mentioned by Landberg, may be of interest; the list makes no pretence at being near exhaustive, and these only apply to the Tarīm area.

manwar (pl. manāwir), a little oriel window set high in the wall.

mizyāb (pl. mazāyīb), a hole in the wall at floor-level and the spout to which it leads, projecting outside for drainage (class.).

sawāri, pillars (class.).

safan (pl. asfān & sufūn), a stone base under a wooden column, or round column-drums, roughly six inches in height.

sahm (pl. suhūm & ishum), wooden column, (class.).

kabš (pl. kibāš), a horizontal piece of wood, about three feet in length, placed on the top of a column to serve as a capital, below the beam, (class.).

ḳāsim (pl. ḳawāsim), wooden beam lyving on the top of the kabš (cf. Landberg).

širḳah (pl. širḳ), a beam running from wall to wall.

ḳubl (new plur. aḳbāl), Landberg's « solive ».

'akf (pl. 'ukūf), arch (Landberg). Bait mu'akkaf, a house with an arched roof (i.e. holding up the first floor).

ṭāḳ, any arched hole in a wall used as a shelf, and an arch over a window with a wooden shelf in it.

'ammārah (pl. 'ammarīyāt), cupboard.

mirfa' (pl. marāfi'), shelf. Syn. riff (class.).

ḳawām (pl. ḳiwām), a wooden frame in which a door is set. In Tarīm the sides of it are known as lānah.

ḳafā'ah (or ḳafā'at al-ṭāli'), the jamb over the top of the door.

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut mm2

342 insulation against the heat. Roofs are universally flat, and used for the recreation of the women, who keep purdah, and for sleeping in the summer.

342 The farm-house of the tribesmen is little removed from its earlier function of a fort, and even in large towns it is unusual for the ground
● 531 floor (often used as a stable) to have more than loop-holes, windows being reserved for the upper storeys. But the upper part of a house is frequently decorated with whitewash, and in some cases most intricate and delicate patterns are created in plaster-work and whitewash, occasionally touched with blue or other colours. Sanitation is primitive.

342 The cities of the Hadhramaut have tall mud-brick buildings, nearly every house in Shibam is from five to seven storeys high, and the wealthy Seiyids and Sultans live in veritable palaces which are remarkable not only for their size and cost but for their taste and beauty.

Chapter 9: Law and Order

JUSTICE

692 The Law Courts in the Protectorate are of two kinds (*a*) Sharia Courts, which administer the Sharia or Quranic Law and (*b*) Common Law Courts, which handle all cases outside the jurisdiction of the Sharia Courts.

625 In the Eastern Aden Protectorate security is primarily a responsibility of the states themselves, but it is still necessary to provide additional security forces.

PRISONS

697 There is no recognised prison service in the Western Aden Protectorate. Chiefs of states have their own state prisons, which are supervised by the political staff in controlled areas.

625 ## WESTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE SECURITY FORCES

Government Guards

The establishment was as follows:

British Officers	*Arab Officers*	*Other Ranks*	*Specialists, etc.*
5	18	582	82

Posts were maintained in the Dhala district at Dhala, Safra, Jabel, Jihaf, Lazaric and Awabil; in Abyan district at Ja'ar (Khanfar), El Husn, Ba Teis and Hitat; in Ahwar district at Ahwar and El Oqma; in Beihan at Beihan, El Ain, Asailan, Najd Maizar and Najd Merqad; in Dathina district at Am Surra, Mudia, Am Khudeira and Am Quleita; at Thumeir in the Quteibi area and at Mahfad and El Irq in the Manqas district.